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ABSTRACT

This paper presents a linguistic discussion of play-languages--designated as ludlings by the author and tentatively defined as the result of a transformation or a series of transformations acting regularly on an ordinary language text, with the intent of altering the form, but not the content of the original message, for purposes of concealment or comic effect. Based on the types of phonological transformations operating in the creation of a specific ludling, i.e., expansion, contraction, substitution, rearrangement, or a combination of two or more of these mechanisms (polysystemic), the author establishes a typology and presents examples for each type. The author contends that the study of ludlings and their formation gives valuable information on the native speaker's intuition as to what constitutes a syllable, a vowel, a consonant, a consonant cluster, a word, or a suprasegmental; such study also indicates which phoneme sequences may be permissible in the language. (VM)

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TOWARDS A TYPOLOGY OF LUDLINGS, OR PLAY-LANGUAGES¹

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1. INTRODUCTION

The term 'play-language' is a wide one, and means many different things to different people. I have therefore coined the term 'ludling'² to refer to a specific subset of play-languages, and, barbarous as the term no doubt is, I shall continue to use it throughout this paper.

A ludling is defined, tentatively, as the result of a transformation or a series of transformations acting regularly on an ordinary language text, with the intent of altering the form but not the content of the original message, for purposes of concealment or comic effect. I say 'tentatively', as I am not completely certain that the definition adequately excludes certain linguistic usages that are not, as I see it, ludlings.

For example, certain paralinguistic features - speaking falsetto, whispering, speaking in a slurred manner, and so on - could be regarded as 'regular transformations of an ordinary language text', in the sense that only a simple rule is required. However, such paralinguistic features do not in any way 'conceal' the original text, and it is possible that we may wish to restrict the definition of ludling transformations to the elements that are normally specified in phonological analysis: segmental and suprasegmental phonemes. But there is a

borderline area in the suprasegmentals; and in some languages, such as Tagalog (Conklin 1956), paralinguistic features such as falsetto are often combined with regular ludlings.

Somewhat different considerations apply to a phenomenon such as deliberately speaking with a foreign accent. Here there is regular transformation of phonological elements - leaving aside for the moment any syntactic changes. It seems that the simpler cases could certainly be regarded as ludlings, if we assume such instructions as, for example, 'to speak with a German accent pronounce each /w/ as /v/, to speak with an Irish accent pronounce each orthographic *ee* as /e/.³ However, the phonological rules for a 'full-scale' foreign accent would be extremely complex; and perhaps a distinction between foreign accents and ludlings could be made on the basis of transmission i.e., ludlings are probably learnt by conscious acquisition of the rule, while foreign accents are probably most often learnt by imitation, and by unconscious acquisition of many rules simultaneously.

Similar considerations apply to dialect acquisition, and perhaps the phenomenon of many of the forms of 'women's language' reported from many parts of the world⁴ is not very different - though here there may be great difficulty in deciding just what is to be taken as the underlying 'ordinary language' form. Dialects of women's languages - as well as certain forms of ritual language, ceremonial forms, and so on - commonly involve phonological changes of a very complex and often not easily specifiable type, as well as syntactic and lexical changes that can hardly be reduced to rule at all.

Perhaps it might be desirable to include in the definition of ludlings some reference to 'phonological transformations',

since all ludlings discussed involve phonological rules only; but I have not done so, since there seems no a priori reason why transformations involving other levels of language should not occur: morpheme-substitution, sentence-scrambling, and regular lexical substitution, for example. However, these mechanisms do not appear to operate outside of puzzle pages.⁵

A key word in the definition of ludlings is the modifier 'regularly'. Ludlings bear the same relationship to other forms of spoken secret languages as, in written language, cipher does to code. The lexical substitution commonly occurring in secret languages (as when a chief is called 'banyan-tree' and a pig 'the tusked one' - see Laycock 1969) is usually not predictable, and so such types of language are not considered ludlings. The only linguistic code that approaches predictability in lexical substitution is the phenomenon of 'opposite speech' (for which see Kaplan 1957, Laffal et al. 1956, Staats 1957), but even here there can be no really general rule, since the idea of 'opposite' includes both contraries and contradictories, and since many words can hardly be said to have opposites.⁶ A special subclass of lexical substitution, with a phonological rule, is rhyming slang, but here again the substitution is not systematic. Such phenomena are not further discussed, although it should be borne in mind that they can co-occur with ludlings, making the interpretation of the resulting secret language very complex (e.g. the Amharic examples in Leslau 1964), or the Vietnamese examples in Chéon 1905).

The names that have been applied to ludlings in the past include such names (for English only) Pig Latin,

Dog Latin, Bog Latin, Hog Latin, Raw Latin, Apothecaries' Latin, and Kitchen Latin; Hospital Greek, Medical Greek, and St. Giles' Greek; Pedlars' French, Double Dutch, Back Slang, Ziph, Alfalfa, and many more. The use of the general term 'ludling' allows these names to be applied to specific types only.

The literature on ludlings is not extensive, though many references have to be cited because of the habit of many authors of including an example or two of ludlings while writing about something quite different. I suspect that there are many more examples of ludlings buried in old ethnographies. As it is, one has to search through headings with a multiplicity of key words: secret languages, jargon, cant, argot, children's languages, slang, play-languages, even 'dialect'. The major treatment of all kinds of 'special languages' appears still to be that of Lasch (1907), though some of the other sources cited below contain more extensive examples of ludlings. For children's languages *per se*, see Leopold 1952).

A word needs to be said on the data. Much of it is old, though not on that account alone unreliable. The chief difficulties in interpreting the systems are caused by the fact that rarely does the data appear to have been elicited from actual use; many of the examples, indeed, appear to have been constructed by the investigator. Often, too, the underlying forms given are not precisely those on which the ludling has been formed. Misprints, too, play their part. For these reasons, minor inconsistencies in the source material - which are cited in the orthography of the source (except for verbally delivered examples from informants, which are phonemicised) are ignored. (Major discrepancies are commented on in the notes. Obvious orthographic errors have been silently corrected.

The linguistic distribution of the examples can certainly be said to reflect a bias, since many important language families of the world are unrepresented in the data so far accessible to the author. Japanese, for example, should lend itself to syllable rearrangement, but no data are yet to hand. Yet the wide range of languages covered suggests that the occurrence of ludlings, in one form or another, may be a linguistic universal - certainly, transposition of the 'spoonerism' type seems to occur naturally, and reduplication may perhaps be relatable in some way to stuttering.⁷

Also unsolved with regard to ludlings are the problems of dating, and of cultural transmission. When virtually identical types are recorded for French, English, and Vietnamese (examples 173, 175, 187) or for English and a Sudanic language (examples 36, 80), are we dealing with borrowing, linguistic universals, or chance?⁸ And how does it come about that many disparate languages all refer to their ludlings as 'bird language', or something similar? Such questions cannot be answered at the moment.

The study of ludlings is not just a linguistic side-issue. Ludlings give valuable information on the native speaker's intuition as to what constitutes a syllable, a vowel, a consonant, a consonant cluster, a word, or a suprasegmental. Also, the modifications of phonemes and clusters that occur especially in transposed forms indicate which phoneme sequences may be permissible in the language (lacking only by chance), and which are not part of the native speaker's phonological inventory.

On the question of suprasegmentals - or other prosodic features, such as gemination or 'emphatization' (Leslau 1964:11) - it would seem that in some languages they are literally 'superimposed' and do not form part of the syllabic nucleus, while in other languages a suprasegmental is very much part of the syllabic nucleus. (For example, in most instances of transposition in Chinese (e.g. 136) the tone remains firmly with the original final; however, in the Vietnamese example 137, the tone remains with the initial). Such subjects need further investigation.

2. PRESENTATION

The typology presented here gives only the outlines of the mechanisms operating in the formation of such ludlings as have been encountered to date. There are four principal mechanisms operating, with a fifth type that we may call 'polysystemic', as it makes use of two or more mechanisms simultaneously. Thus we have:

- 1) E. Expansion
- 2) C. Contraction
- 3) S. Substitution⁹
- 4) R. Rearrangement
- 5) P. Polysystemic

Each of these is discussed in detail below, with the language data.

A few terms need to be explained in the presentation of the typology. Terms such as 'syllable', 'nucleus', and 'word' carry only general meanings, and would have to be specified in detail for individual languages. In particular, the term 'syllable' is given no subdivisions, though it will be immediately apparent that some of the ludling types are formed

only on open, initial, or stressed syllables. Similar restrictions may apply to 'nucleus' and 'word'.

The terms 'initial' and 'final' I have borrowed from Chinese linguistics, and they have the same meaning as there - that is, initial means any consonant or string of consonants preceding the vocalic nucleus; final means the vocalic nucleus plus any consonant or consonant string forming part of the same syllable. It has proved useful to further divide final into nucleus and terminal, where the latter term means any syllable-final consonant or consonant string.

Prefix and suffix are used in their normal meaning, but the reference is to position only, as the elements have no morphemic status. The term 'infix' has been avoided; it has seemed preferable to speak of 'prefix to final', 'suffix to syllable' and so on.

The normal language form is always on the left, the ludling form on the right.¹⁰ Only selected examples are given, since in most cases the rules are obvious or are commented on in the notes. The algebra of generative phonology (for which see e.g. Chomsky and Halle 1968) provides a convenient notational device for the phonological rules required to produce a ludling form, but it has not been thought necessary to set out the rules in this paper. Similarly, for purposes of simplicity and economy of description, details of subrules, and rule ordering, have usually been omitted, or relegated to a footnote. Such subrules usually arise from the fact that the ludling form produces forms outside the phonology grammar of the language, so that further modifications are necessary.¹¹

3. TYPOLOGY

1) E. EXPANSION

By expansion is meant any system in which all the constituents of the original language form, in the original order, are retained, and an element is added.

The element added may be arbitrary (affixed element influenced by the normal language form) or conditioned (affixed element influenced by normal language form). Further subdivisions are obtained by specifying the location of the added element, and, if necessary, its nature.

E.I. Arbitrary

1. Suffix

a) suffix to word¹²

1 how do you do howg dog youg dog

2 how do you do howl dol youl dol

[English: Grose 1796: 'G gibberish, L gibberish'; also Hotten 1864]

3 you can talk Gree yougree cangree talkgree Greegree

4 you can talk Na youna canna talkna Nana

[English; Wentworth & Flexker 1960: 'Gree', 'Na']

5 how do you do howvis dovis youvis dovis

[English; Hotten 1864: 'gibberish']

6 yesterday I had my marbles yesterdayo lo hado myo marbleso
out to the country outo too theo countryo

[English; Hirschberg 1913: 'dog Latin']

7 vous êtes un fou vousdregue esdregue undregue
foudregue

8 café; soupe cafémar; soupeaurama

[French; Hotten 1864]

9.

- 9 eck mott datt donn eckla mottla dattla donnla
[German; Schlegel 1891]
- 10 kua! sanggulan kow a) kua-ss! sanggulan kow-ss!
[Murut; JP] b) kua-l! sanggulan kow-l!¹³
- 11 iroro; muo; ororui irorona; muoroko; oromuinoko
[Buin; Laycock 1969]
- 12 narka, kolampa; narmi narkada, kolampada; narmidda
[Tulu; Shankara Bhat 1968; see also 161]

b) suffix to syllable

- 13 going out today goming mowt tomdaym
- 14 going out today gosings outs tosdays
[English; Jespersen 1916-17]
- 15 it is Monday night itve isve Monvedayve nightve
- 16 are you coming up to play arely youly comly-ingy uply
toly playly?
- [English; Hirschberg 1913: 'dog Latin': other
suffixes may be la, y, ki]
- 17 better late than never beteeztereez lateez thancez
neveezereez
- 18 better late than never betalterfal late-fal thanal
nefalverfa
- 19 better late than never betberterber lat-ber thanber
neberverber
- 20 better late than never betkaterky late-ko than-koo
nekaverky

[English; Jennings 1967: 17 - 'carny talk'; 18 -
'Alfalfa' (syllables of the word alfalfa suffixed,
in order); 19 - English imitation of Danish
Kragesprog 'crow language'; 20 - English
imitation of a Ukrainian type k+V]

- 21 oiseau oi-pi-seau-pi
[French; Leroy 1922]
- 22 bonjour bongue jourgue; bonille
jouruche
- 23 dis, l'as-tu vu? disakrain, letes asifis
[French; Niceforo 1912] tuocronde vuavec
- 24 du er et lille asen durbe erbe lirbe lerbe
[Danish; Jespersen 1922; see also next] erbe serbe
- 25 [Danish; Kragesprog 'crow language', cited by Jennings
(1967), and imitated in English as 19]
- 26 [Ukrainian; Jennings (1967): 'k plus any vowel in
between syllables', imitated in English as 20]
- 27 [Japanese; Language nosa-nosa kotoba reported by
Jennings 1967: '...nosa after the first vowel sound
in each word']
- 28 maku tena ma-te-ku-te te-te-na-te
[Maori; Best 1925; cf. 41]
- 29 mari malah-rilah¹⁴
[Malay; St. John 1863, II:289: 'bhasa balik']
- 30 tubig; gabi tupibipig, tubibibig;
[Tagalog; Garcia 1933; cf. 57] gachibichi, gasibisi
- 31 gäddälä a) gäbiyä däbiyä läbiyä
b) gäntər däntər läntər
[Amharic; Cohen 1939, cited by Leslau 1964]
- 32 ami ngunakuzange atimiti ngutinatikutiza-
[Vale ('Luvalé'); White 1955] tingeti
- c) other suffix
- 33 you can talk Ong you-ou cong-a-nong tong-a-
long-kong Onong-gong
[English; Wentworth & Flexner 1960: 'Ong' (suffix to
orthographic consonants; cf. also 88)]

2. Prefix

a) prefix to word

- 34 you can talk skimono jive sk-you sk-can sk-talk sk-skimono sk-jive
[English; Wentworth & Flexner 1960: 'Skimono jive']
- 35 I am going to the pictures madl madam madgoing madto
 madthe madpictures
[English; Hirschberg 1913: 'sparrow-language',
sparrow-lingo']
- 36 crois-tu qu'il m'aime coticrois cotitu cotiqu'il
 cotimaime
[French; Niceforo 1912: imitation of Italian original?]
- 37 [Italian; Niceforo 1912: 36 appears, from the context,
to be a French imitation of an Italian model]
- 38 [Bahnar; Guilleminet 1960-62: 'quant au ... langage de
haine po,ma adro, il consiste simplement à faire
précéder chaque mot d'un ha ou d'un ho' très fortement
soufflé.']
- 39 gäs; arbät; waga f^wägäs; g^warbät; čäwaga
[Gurage; Leslau 1964]

b) prefix to syllable

- 40 ja idu v kino kata-ja kata-i kata-du kata-va
 kata-no
[Russian; OM]
- 41 kei te, haere au ki reira te-kei te-i te te-haere-te-re
 te-a te-u te-ki te-re-le-i-
 te-ra
[Maori; Lasch 1907: 'he kowetewete'; also Chao 1931
cf. 28]

c) prefix to final

- 42 is she really egg-is shegg-ee reggealleggy
[English; Mitford 1949: 'eggy-peggy'; also Opie 1959:
aygo-paygo']
- 43 to bed taragoo baraged
[English; Opie 1959: 'arague']

- 44 you are mad yɛnɔ opare mopad
 45 come round here carpum rarpound harpoyarpere
 [English; Baker 1966: 'oppen-gloppen'; 'lotus language'; 'gibberish, ziph' - cf. 46b)]
- 46 eggs for breakfast
 a) /amɔgz famɔ bramskramɛst/
 b) /apɔgz fapɔ brapɛkfapɛst/
 c) /agabɔgz fagabɔ bragabɛsk-
 fapɛst/
 d) /arabɔgz farawɔ brarapɛsk-
 farawɛst/
 [English; a) VL: 'amatamin'; b) MC: 'aptatapin';
 c) MS: 'agabaga'; d) WH: 'arawa']
- 47 you can talk Carnese yeeizou keeizaa teelsalk
 Keeizanneeizese
 [English; Wentworth & Flexner 1960: 'Carnese, Goon Language, Goon Talk']
- 48 penny pɛgennɛpy
 [English; Jespersen 1916-17, 1922: 'ziph, hypernese';
 also Partridge 1951; cf. 42 a & 162]
- 49 dear Bulletin... dojaynarithinserear Borilly-
 jayrullitaysthinorin...
 [English; Baker 1966: an artificial form¹⁵]
- 50 better late than never bevettar lavato thaven nayeover
 [English; Jennings 1967: imitation of French
 'javanais' - cf. 51, 52]
- 51 beau, grosse beveau, gravosse
 52 chatte, matin chagatto, mataguin
 [French; Guiraud 1958: 'javanais'; also Barrère 1889,
 Sandry & Carrère 1953, Leroy 1922 - cf. 50 and 87]
- 53 kanna-m, räkkäbä-m kinannam, rokakkäbä-m
 [Gurage; Leslay 1964]
- 54 ma maí-ka; mei-ka; man-t'a;
 mög-la; m-pa
 [Chinese¹⁶; Chao 1931]

13.

- 55 ko ky] so], ky] tsad so];
[Miac] ky] tsaud so]
- 56 tiná-pay, ná tumf.napáy, numá
[Tagalog; Conklin 1956]
- 57 tubig tumubumig
[Tagalog; Garcia 1933]
- 58 in bat ko, po'ma pang di angliá banglat kanglo,
[Bahnar; Guilleminet 1960-62; 'po'ma klé']
pangiang dangli,

3. Prefix and Suffix

a) prefix and suffix to word

- 59 will you go with me to uwilla uoa ugoa uwitha umoa
lunch utoa uluncha
- 60 where is my hat uery uisy uemy uity

E.II. Conditioned

1. Suffix

a) suffix to word

- 61 go to bed gogo togo bedged
[English; Anon 1869: 'Ziph, Winchester College slang';
cf. 73]
- 62 revolution revolution shmevolution
[English/Yiddish; Rosten 1971: productive in Yiddish, but
cf. such non-productive English forms as 'hugger-
mugger', 'hurdy-gurdy', and 'goosey-loosey',
Equivalent forms can be found in most languages].
- 63 crois-tu qu'il m'aime croisvois tuvu qu'ilvil
[French; Niceforo 1912] m'aimevem
- 64 sar, das, fero sərənser, desəndes, fərənfer¹⁷
[Gurage; Leslau 1964]

65 de[˥] tui[˥] min[˥] di t[˥]ɲ
no[˥] maw

[Vietnamese; NDL]

de[˥] du[˥] tui[˥] tu[˥] min[˥] mu[˥]
didu t[˥]ɲ t[˥]u[˥] no[˥] nu[˥]
mawmu

b) suffix to syllable

66 better late than never

betpeterper late-pate
thanpan nevpeverper

[English; Jennings 1967, in imitation of Belgian
Pekestaal]

67 [Flemish; Pekestaal 'language of the little p's',
cited by Jennings 1967, and imitated in English as 66]

68 me hācre tatou ki te
kaukau, ne

me-re-ere hā ra-ara-ere
tā-ra-ara-to-ro-ro-uru
te-re-ere kā-ra-uru
ka-ra-uru

69 e pa mai koia

e-we pā-wa-ma-wa-i-wi
ko-i-wi-a-wa

70 ki hea

ki-ri-era tiri-era hi-ri-era

[Maori; Stowell 1911: 'korero hunuru'. Example 70
is perhaps unconditioned]

71 goá ká lí kóng

goásoa kása lísi kóngsong
goáloaso kálasa lílisi
kónglongsong

[Chinese (Amoy); Schlegel 1891: 'sa-ia language']

72 ne, ni, nan

ne-ie, ni-i, nan-in

[Chinese; Liu 1944: see also 35]

c) suffix to nucleus/final

73 shall we go away in an hour shagall wege gogo agawagay
igin hougour

[English; Hotten 1864: 'Ziph'; cf. 61]¹⁸

- 74 je vais bien je-do-que vais-dai-qai
bien-den-qen
- 75 je suis pris je dregue suidriguis pridriguis
[French; Jespersen 1916-17, 1922: 'javanais'
74; Barrère 1889: 'dregneu' 75]
- 76 a-te kogneu se vaçi a-degá te-dego ko-dego gnu-degu
só-degé va-daga chi-degi
[French (Savoyard); Jespersen 1916-17, 1922: 'javanais']
- 77 ich habe gestern Anaa ibich hababeba gebestebem
gesehen Abannaba gebesebeheben
[German; Baker 1966: 'B Sprache']
- 78 de schoona Mei depe schoopóonope Meipéi
[Dutch; Jespersen 1922: 'erwi-taal']
- 79 tudok így beszélni tuyudovok ívígy beveszévólnívi
[Hungarian; SK; also AB, Baker 1966, Tompa 1961:
'madárnyelv' ('bird language')]
- 80 hokkam ndiyam holfokkam ndilfiyam
[Fula; Delafosse 1922: 'gane']
- 81 ba·raŋ may bu·ŋa qa·san tag sa raraq, may bubu tag sa
baba kanta katagbuq ŋaŋa tag sa qaqa tag sa sasaq,
sa kaka tag sa tataq, katata
tag sa bubuq
[Hanunóo; Conklin 1959]¹⁹
- 82 janua (?jauna) jau-pau-na-pa, jau-gau-na-gra
[Basque?; Niceforo 1912: 'argot des bohémien des
Pyrénées']
- 83 dobrý večer dogobrygý vegožeger
[Czech; ZO]
- 84 säbbärä; qädda; täffa; säzäbbäzäräzä; qärädde;
bäläta täräffa; bälännäta
[Amharic; Leslau 1964. The first example is cited by
Leslau from Cohen 1939, where it is called yäwof
q^wanq^wa 'the language of the birds', oryätämariwoc
q^wanq^wa 'students' language'.]

2. Prefix

a) prefix to word

[No ludling examples recorded, but here could be placed most forms of partial or complete reduplication. Cf. also 64]

b) prefix to syllable

- 85 shin, sih nin-shin, ni-sih
[Chinese; Liu 1944; see also 72]

c) prefix to final/nucleus

- 86 missed the bastards milfist the balfastards
[English; Baker 1966; also Wentworth & Flexner 1960:
'Pelf Latin'; WC: 'Alfalfa'; cf. 18, 80]
- 87 un jour vers midi sur un unvin jovur vevers mividin
autobus suvur unvin vutobobuvus
[French; Queneau 1947: 'javanais' - cf. 51, 52]²⁰
- 88 you can talk Tutnee yack-o-yud cause-a-nun tut-a-
 a-lul-kuk Tut-yud-tut-nun-
 squir-e
[English; Wentworth & Flexner 1960: 'Tutnee'; also
Baker 1966]
- 89 better late than never bubbetutter lullate thannun
 nunnevuvver
[English; Jennings 1967: 'Double Dutch']
- 90 tudsz így beszélni tat-horu-dad-szasz horí-
 gyagy bab-hore-szasz-hore-
 lal-nan-hori
[Hungarian;; SK]

[The three systems above are very similar. The main basis of them is orthographic, involving reduplication (with intervening [a]) of all consonants, with prefixes to finals in 88 and 90. Baker (1966) presents this type as a 'spelling alphabet'. The only significant difference between the

sources is in the treatment of vowels; in 89 they remain unaltered from their phonetic shape in the word, whereas in Baker's version they appear to be spelt (A, E, I, O, U - [ei, i:, ai, ou, yu]. The Hungarian system prefixes hor- to each vowel, while the example of 88 uses spelling for all vowels except E, which is squirrel ([skwairi:]). For orthographic C, Baker has cung, Wentworth & Flexner have cause, and Jennings has cash - these variants exist, apparently, to distinguish orthographic C from orthographic K.)

2) C. CONTRACTION

By contraction (C) is meant any system which shortens the original language form. In ludlings, contraction occurs usually only in conjunction with other mechanisms, but the Murut and Javanese examples are genuine ludlings. In this section can be placed also numerous other non-ludling types of contraction: blends, abbreviations, apocope, and acronyms. A few examples will suffice:

- | | |
|----|--|
| 91 | fabulous; snake + shark fab; snark |
| | [English] |
| 92 | sympathique sympa |
| | [French] |
| 93 | Kaufhaus des Westens Kadewe |
| | [German] |
| 94 | trasi bakar gosong .si kar sung gir |
| | pinggir |

- 95 silit ku kōpāt dilaten lit ku pāt luten
[Javanese; s]²¹
- 96 mapanday kow kia ra ragu mapan ko ki ra rag nu Mur
nu Murut
[Murut; JP: 'ragu satangaq' ('half-language')]
- 97 šomagalle; agzer šomag^wä; arga
[Amharic; Leslau 1964]

3) S. SUBSTITUTION

By substitution (S) is meant any system in which a constituent element of the original language (consonant, vowel, nucleus, tone, etc.) is replaced by some other element (usually of the same type). Some types of 'foreign accent' might come under this heading, and there are a few ludling examples, although substitution usually occurs only in conjunction with other mechanisms. Obvious substitutions are vowels vs. consonant substitution, type of substitution, etc.; but the section is so small that it has not seemed necessary to subdivide it.

- 98 ei, da sitzt 'ne Flieg' di sitzt 'ni Flig' in dir
an der Wand Wind
[German; Baker 1966]
- 99 chapeau, zéro, pierrot chapal, zéral, pierral
[French; Cohen 1908-09, Lévy & Pinet 1894; also
Jespersen 1916-17]
- 100 credi che mi ami crender dinez chender
minez aiz miner
- 101 crois-tu qu'il m'aime crufurt aiz tufurt
quinerl mender mender
[Italian, French; Niceforo 1912]²²
- 102 [Dutch; Jennings 1967: '... substituted edi for any
vowel'; no examples given]

- 103 ag, lumba, nut, rooburoo kag, kumba, kut, kooburoo
 104 bans, chilum, dum, fugeer nans, nilum, num, nugeer,
 jub, mas, sona, tulash nub, nas, nona, nulash
 105 g,hur, geella, kon; id, - r,hur, rulla; ron; bud,hur;
 hur; peer cheer
 [Hindustani; Richardson 1807]²³
 106 ŋə fa'n hœy kwai lək ŋa fa ha kwa la
 [Chinese (Cantonese); Chao 1931]
 107 kanta katagbuq kantəŋ katagbuŋ
 [Hanunóo; Conklin 1959]²⁴
 108 cämmärä, säkkärä, dökkämä wämmärä, wäkkärä, wäkkämä
 109 gänzäb, kəfu, ʈänq^way mänžäb, məfu, mänq^way
 [Amharic; Leslau 1963; cf. also 169 for palatalisation]
 110 [Chimbu; form of ludling reported by OVR, where each
 consonant is replaced by glottal stop; but no
 examples available]

4) R. REARRANGEMENT

By rearrangement (R) is meant any system which retains all the elements of the ordinary language form, but in a different order. The three main subtypes of rearrangement are reversal, transposition, and shuffle. The first of these is self-explanatory, but it must be remembered that it can operate on various levels: phoneme/grapheme level, syllable-level, even word-level. Transposition involves the interchanging of not more than two elements, whether these be (for example) initials, finals, syllables, or words. Symmetric transposition is the interchange of two elements that are equivalent to each other: two syllables, two initials,

and so on. Asymmetric transposition is the interchange of two elements not equivalent to each other: one syllable with two syllables, initial and final, and so on. Shuffle is any type of rearrangement that cannot be arrived at by the interchange of only two elements.

R.I. Reversal

1. Reversal by phonemes/graphemes

- 111 look at the old woman cool to the dillow
namow

[English; Mayhew 1851: 'back slang'; also Anon 1859, Hotten 1864, Farmer & Henley 1890-1904, Partridge 1935, 1951, Goldin et al. 1950, Guiraud 1958, Opie 1959; the system is partly orthographic and partly phonemic.]

- 112 con, cul, folle, mouton nos, luc, loffe
 moutonne

[French; Barrère 1889, Anon 1869; the final example (from Anon 1869) may contain an error]

- 113 dobro: noc; Chruščov uorbed con; voščurch

[Czech; 20]

- 114 tisa i toktok tumora nogat asit i kotkot aromut
sukul tagon lukus

[New Guinea Pidgin; Aufinger 1948: 'tok-tek bilong pidgin'; also cited by Baker 1966]

- 115 ruagnagu bua aludi masa
goina ba ngakina kaiea
ngaena lo

[Manam; Aufinger 1948; also cited by Baker 1966.

Written only, not spoken?]

2. Reversal by syllables

- 116 calibre, l'Argoteur brelica, torgotlar
 [French; Esnault 1965; cf. 118]
- 117 tidpaká, lawáŋ lamqú kapatíd, waláŋ qú·lam
 [Tagalog; Conklin 1956; also Garcia 1933:
 'kawing tagbali' (from wikang baligtad,
 'reversed language')]

R.II. Transposition

1. Symmetric

a) of syllables

- 118 bernique, Toulon, peau niberque, lontou, balpeau,
 de balle, perdreau dreauper
 [French; Guiraud 1958; also Esnault 1965: 'vers-1'en']
- 119 nukuhiva kunuhiva
 [Marquesan; Lasch 1907: 'eo uhitua' ('language
 which covers the back')]
- 120 [Samoan; gagana liliu 'reversed language' mentioned
 by Lasch (1907), but no examples given]
- 121 rich rendah bunyi-nya yori yarah nubi nerubong
 burong
 [Malay; Evans 1917, 1923; many examples, with
 complex subrules (polysystemic?) because of
 unpermitted initials and sequences. In words
 of more than two syllables, a prefix or suffix
 usually remains unshifted]
- 122 kumakain umeenka
 [Tagalog; Garcia 1933]²⁵
- 123 uze mpwevo yamukwenu zeu vompwe yamunukwe
 [Luchazi; White 1955]

- 124 tikpo, baramu, parakondo kpoti, rabamu,
rapandoko
[Zande; Evans-Pritchard 1954]
- 125 moi, inuati, paampa imo, atiinu, mpapaa
[Buin; Laycock 1969]
- 126 č?ik^wa sa·koni k^w?ač?i sa·niko
[Zuni; Newman 1964]
- 127 wāṭṭa, mata, bāčča, waḡḡa ṭawwa, tama, čəbba, ḡawwa
- 128 waddaqa; nābbārā, agānnā dāwwāqā; nārrābā, annāḡā
[Amharic; Leslau 1964. Note that the position of the
geminated consonant remains constant. Cf. also 148]
- 129 ag, bans, dum, id, hur ga, suban, mudu, d, huri,
lumba, Hindoostan, peer balum, Dooseenatuh, reepu,
fugeer reegeefu
[Hindustani; Richardson 1807]²⁶

b) of initials

- 130 butterfly, smoke a pipe flutterby, poke a smipe
[English; Hotten 1864: 'Medical Greek, Marrowskying';
Patridge 1935, 1951: 'Mowrowsky, Spoonerism' (also);
Farmer & Henley 1890-1904: 'Hospital Greek', 'St.
Giles' Greek' (also); Jespersen 1916-17, 1922]²⁷
- 131 folle a la messe; maître melle a la fesse; prêtre
passé massé
[French; Rabelais 1542; also Larousse, Perceau 1934:
'contrepettries']
- 132 Heilserum Seil herum²⁸
[German; Weis 1954]
- 133 plato, demia taplo, media
[Spanish; Hotten 1864: 'Germania']
- 134 corīccu maclu, Kambī
naḡanākalanḡa, tavamuṭuk

[Malayalam: Achyuthan-Unny 1970; only one half of spoonerism given?]

c) of finals

- | | | |
|-----|-----------|-----------|
| 135 | tiēn t'úŋ | tūŋ t'ién |
| 136 | t'ài t'úŋ | t'ūŋ t'ài |

[Chinese; Ts'ao 1956. Note that in 135 the tone remains with the initial, while in 136 it remains with the final (with tone Sandhi); cf. 139, 140]

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| 137 | de ^ˇ tuy ^ˋ mìn ^ˋ dī | duy ^ˇ te ^ˋ mī ^ˋ dīn |
| | t'ɔŋ ^ˋ nɔ ^ˋ | t'ɔ ^ˋ nɔŋ ^ˋ |

[Vietnamese; NDL; cf. also Hoa 1955, Chéon 1905]

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| 138 | ku [˥] ca [˥] u [˥] zun [˥] tau [˥] | a) ka [˥] u [˥] cu [˥] zau [˥] tun [˥] |
| | | b) ku [˥] cun [˥] za [˥] u [˥] tau [˥] |
| 139 | tək [˥] nē [˥] | ta [˥] nek [˥] |
| 140 | tək [˥] mē [˥] | ta [˥] mək [˥] |

[Pu-I; Ts'ao 1956; cf. 135, 136]²⁹

- | | | |
|-----|------------------|------------------|
| 141 | kāj pəo khǎn hǎn | kāj pəo khǎn hǎn |
| 142 | man khǎn hāj | mən khāj hǎn |

[Thai; Wijeyewardene 1968]

d) of nuclei

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| 143 | Händedruck | Hundedreck |
| | [German; Weis 1954] ³⁰ | |
| 144 | ĩĩ bat ko ^ˋ po ^ˋ ma dī | at biā po ^ˋ me ^ˋ pi dang |
| | [Bahnar; Guilleminet 1960-62] | |

2. Asymmetric

a) of syllables

- 145 mĩgĩnopumpĩgu, onogoĩparo nopumpĩgumĩgi, goĩparoono
[Buin; Laycock 1969]

- 146 matanda, sikmura maputi damatan, rasikmu,
[Tagalog; Garcia 1933] timapu
- 147 berapa pabera
[Malay; Evans 1917]³¹
- 148 (tʃ)qʌbbʌlʃ (tʃ)lʌqqʷʌbʌ
[Amharic; Leslau 1964; cf. 127, 128]

b) of initials and finals

- 149 ngei; bua co kanon te eing; uba oc nakonad
[Nengone; Leenhardt 1946: 'cara' (= [cara]); also
Tryon & Dubois 1969]

3. Shuffle

- 150 egowa, wamejo gewea, jawemo
[Nengone; Tryon & Dubois 1969]
- 151 asiligi, aṅwukekba agilisi, akbakaṅwu
[Igbo; Thomas 1914]

5) P. POLYSYSTEMIC

By polysystemic (P) is meant the combining of two or more of the above-described mechanisms; virtually all possible combinations occur. Most extended ludlings are polysystemic in one way or another. For exact description it is possible to specify the exact subtype of each system.

P.I. E + C

- 152 Get work. Get a bit of Gerriger worriger.
light labour Gerriger ariger biriger
 origer liriger lariger
- 153 Give me that bumper when Givesy mevesy thavesy
you are done with it bumpvesy-erivesy whovesy
 youvesy arevesy dovesy
 wivesy wesys

- 154 will you go with me a) wiggery youggery
goggery wiggery
miggery
b) withus youvus govus
withus mevus
- 155 how you going; sorry; hawaka yuwaka gowaka;
yes soraka; yeraka
[English; 152, 153 Baker 1966; 154 Newell 1903;
155 Douglas 1968: 'Yeraka', 'Italian' - used
by aboriginal women in Western Australia and
South Australia.]
- 156 auxiliaire, jaloux auxigo, jalmince,
espagnol espingouin
[French; Guiraud 1958; cf. also Barrère 1889]
- 157 ga jij met mij in den gavere jijvere meever
tuin spelen mijvere invere devere
tuivere speelevere
[Dutch; Schlegel 1891: 'vere language']
- 158 guten morgen a) gupupen mopopen
b) guwuwen momowen
[German; Schlegel 1891: 'Pe language', 'We
language'; dropping of medial consonants,
plus prefix or suffix to nucleus? In b)
momowen is probably a misprint for mowowen]
- 159 ba·raṅ may buṅ a qa'san gaybar qaymay qaybug
sa kanta katagbug gaysa qaykan qaytag
[Hanunóo; Conklin 1959]
- 160 miimiti; ratina; meege mitigai; ratirati;
mceaka
[Buin; Laycock 1969]
- 161 boldu, menni, muga bolpa, menpa, mugerpa
[Tulu; Shankara Bhat 1968; see also 12]

P. II. E + S

- 162 breeches wareechepes
[English; Jespersen 1916-17]³²
- 163 better late than never letteroo latich lannik
leverwow
[English; Jennings 1967: imitation of French
'argot de boucher' - cf. 165, 166, but contrast
'loucherbème' 176]
- 164 moi, toi mivisi, tivisi
[French; Niceforo 1912: imitation of Italian - cf. 167]
- 165 cave, toque, gigo lavedu, loquedu, ligodu
- 166 cave, quart, jargon javedu, nardu, nargondu
[French; Guiraud 1958]
- 167 meta mitina
[Italian; Niceforo 1912; cf. 164]
- 168 sämma-m; tef^{wä}; säbbärä-m šerammam-m; çeraf^{wä};
šənabbärä-m
[Gurage; Leslau 1964]
- 169 wät, afenča, afär wätawit, afunčite,
aforite
- 170 brr, la?ä, säb bərrəyä, lu?äya,
säbäyā
[Amharic; Leslau 1964]

P. III. E + R

- 171 language, fool, mug, judy, anguagela, oolfoo,
queen ugmer, udyju, eenque
[English; Partridge 1935, 1951: 'centre slang'; also
Farmer & Henley 1890-1904]
- 172 copper; nix; Latin oppercar; ixnay; atinlay,
inlatay

- [English; Baker 1966; Golding et al. 1950; Wentworth & Flexner 1960; also Norman 1958, Opie 1959, Partridge 1935, 1951: 'pig-Latin']³³
- 173 flat, mug, thief; by hatfler, hugmer, hevethed; lybee
[English; Partridge 1935, 1951: also Conklin 1956]
- 174 better late than never ketterbonnti kate-lonnti
kanthonnti kevernonnti
[English; Jennings 1967: in imitation of Finnish konnti]
- 175 chier l'erchem, l'erchem
[French; Barrère 1889]
- 176 un jour vers midi sur la un lourjingue vers lidimège
plateforme arrière d'un sur la lateformeplie arrière
opus, je gaffe un type d'un lobustotem, je gaffe un
avec un long cou et un lypetinge avec un long loukem
chapeau entouré d'un et un lapeauchard entouré
galon au lieu de ruban d'un lalongif au lieu de
lubanrouge
[French; Queneau 1947: 'Loucherbème': cf. Barrère 1889, Deak 1959, Guiraud 1958, Hotten 1864, Sandry & Carrère 1953; Esnault 1965]
- 177 trou lavoutravé
[French; Esnault 1965: 'javanais' plus 'largonji']
- 178 campagne; tabac lampagne-du-cam; nab-du-tac
[French; Esnault 1965: 'largonji', 'nargon du jar'; cf. 180, also 165, 166]
- 179 femme, pou lésélemmefuche, léséloupaque
[French; Esnault 1965: prefix lésé- + 'largonji']
- 180 scranna lanna dla scra
[Italian; Esnault 1965: under entry 'largonji'; cf. 178]
- 181 [Finnish; konnti 'knapsack language', cited by Jennings (1967), and imitated in English as 174]

- | | | |
|-----|--|------------------------------------|
| 182 | ɛɛ:k; lɛ:ŋ; lit | lɛ:k-ɛik kɛ:ŋ-liŋ; kiŋ-luŋ |
| | [Chinese; Chao 1931; many more examples] | |
| 183 | qako, waláq | koqá'panda'paŋ, lawá'
pandá'paŋ |
| | [Tagalog; Conklin 1956] | |
| 184 | a vindi soukama léter | a indivi ikamasou iterlô |
| | [Fula; Delafosse 1922] | |

P. IV. E + R + S

- | | | |
|-----|---|--|
| 185 | ist gut | oste otye |
| | [German; Schlegel 1891: 'O language', vowel replaced
by o, otherwise pig-latin type - note /g/ -- /y/] | |
| 186 | sách; làng; lão | chanh khiêp; chang khiêm;
chao khiêm |
| 187 | ông; lau; tay; quạt; | chông im; mau lom; chay
tim; chan míp |
| | [Vietnamese; Chéon 1905] ³⁴ | |

4. RESIDUE

A few examples of ludlings encountered are not completely classifiable as to type, mainly because the data is not sufficient. In many cases, the wrong underlying form is given, and the oddities of the phonetic symbolisation add to the difficulty.

- 188 eēse to lēpi lolodē ase orot eleip ololeed
189 eēs'ē to 'an xen ase rot inex
190 thei doxu Bula ieth udox Alub
- [Dehu; Leenhardt 1946: . 'Umeng'; numerous examples,
all apparently involving rearrangement]
- 191 ngoi ma 'a 'na kedi ke inu eing am'a 'na deki niku
co lae nata ni bua nui oc ale tana uba in

- 192 canga yosolo to ore 'ele ngaca soyeol roe le 'i in
ni bua uba

[Nengone; Leenhardt 1946: 'Cara'; numerous examples, all apparently involving rearrangement; cf. 149]

- 193 kam akwulue adiwo suowa, akula nka wasu, obel 'emem ka
emelənoiembe, ka onye kwe oku ainyi adəromwa
nihosimande

[Igbo; Thomas 1914: 'Akolo'; numerous examples, involving expansion, rearrangement, complex phonetic changes, and lexical substitution]

ADDENDA

As this manuscript was in the final typing stage, I received two papers, Sherzer (1970) and Sherzer (n.d.). These papers, and the references provided, yield information too extensive for incorporation in the present paper, without protracted rewriting; nevertheless, they support the main points of this paper. Also cited in the references is a paper (Haas 1967) on exactly the same topic as the present one; from the citations in Sherzer (n.d.), the typology proposed operates on the same lines as the present one. In spite of these resemblances, which perhaps are forced by the nature of the subject, the two papers have been conceived and written in complete independence of each other.

The following additions to the bibliography are from Sherzer (n.d.):

- PERKOVITS, Rochale. *1970. Secret Languages of School Children. New York Folklore Quarterly 26, 127-152.
- BURLING, Robbins. *1970. Man's Many Voices. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.
- DUBOIS, J., F. EDELIN, J. M. KLINKENBERG, P. MINGUET, F. PIRE, H. TRINON. *1970. Rhétorique Générale. Paris: Larousse.
- FOLEY, Lawrence. *1971. Green Talk : A Sociological and Linguistic Analysis. In Sherzer et al (1971).
- HAAS, Mary. *1957. Thai Word Games. Journal of American Folklore 70, 173-175.
- HAAS, Mary. *1967. A Taxonomy of Disguised Speech. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Linguistic Society of America.
- HAAS, Mary. *1969. Burmese Disguised Speech. Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica 39, part 2, 277-286.
- JOHNSON, Sister Canice. *1971. Doggie Language. In Sherzer et al (1971).
- JOHNSON, Nancy. *1971. You can say S F D in Corsicana, Texas. In Sherzer et al (1971).
- MONOD, Jean. *1968. Les Farjots. Paris: Julliard.
- PALAKORNKUL, A. *1971. Some Linguistic Games in Thai. In Sherzer et al (1971).
- SADTONO, E. *1971. Language Games in Javanese. In Sherzer et al (1971).

- SHERZER, Joel. 1970. Talking Backwards in Cuna :
The Sociological Reality of Phonological
Descriptions. Southwestern Journal of
Anthropology 26, 343-53.
- SHERZER, Joel. n.d. Linguistic Games : Implications
for (Socio)linguistics. To appear in Speech Play
on Display. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (ed.).
- SHERZER, Joel, Lawrence FOLEY, Sister Canice JOHNSON,
Nancy A. JOHNSON, A. PALAKORNKUL, E. SADTONO.
*1971. A Collection of Linguistic Games. Penn-
Texas Working Papers in Sociolinguistics 2.

The following apparently relevant works are cited
by old sources, especially Lasch (1907), Niceforo (1912),
Jespersen (1916-17), and Leslau (1964), but full
bibliographical details are lacking. Some of them
apparently contain fuller details on the ludling forms
cited; none of them have been seen.

- CERULLI, E. Il gergo delle genti di bassa
casta della Somalia. In Festschrift Meinhof
99-110.
- The folk-literature of the Galla of Southern
Abyssinia. Harvard African Studies 3:204. 1922.
- CHISMAN, (?). Secret Languages. Century Magazine
56:54. - Science 22:303.
- de COCK. 1901. Volkskunde 14:89. [On children's
languages in Flemish?]
- de COCK and FEIRLINCK (?). 1901. Kinderspel en
Kinderlust in Zuid-Nederland. Duret. 1893.
Grammaire Savoyarde. Berlin. [page 5]

- FEILBERG. Ordbog over jysk. [Entries mäl, omäl, femäl, pluddervaelisk, rakkerlatin, svinetysk].
- FRANCISQUE-MICHEL. [Book on argot].
- GRIAULE, Marcel. Jeux et divertissements abyssins. [Pages 237-238].
- GUIDI, I. Vocabolario della lingua amarica. [Col. 672].
- GUILLEMINET, P. 1949. [Communication to Institut Français d'Anthropologie. Résumé in BEFEO 45:530-531, perhaps in title 'Contribution a l'étude de la Société montagnarde du Sud Indochinois'].
- KLUGE. Rotwelsch. [Pages 111f., 143ff., 160f.].
- KRAUSS. Am Urquell 2-5. [Questionnaire concerning secret language, cited by Schlegel (1891) and Lasch (1907)].
- LEWY. Zur finnisch-ugr. Wort- und Satzverbindung. [Pages 72, 79, 82, 83].
- NYROP. Adjektivernes könsböjning 7. Grammaire historique. 3 edn, I. page 123.
- NOREEN. Spridda studier II. [Page 104].
- NOREEN. Vart Språk I. [Page 40]
- PALM. 1910. Svenska landsmalen. [Vol. 6, pages 57ff.].
- PAYNE. 1909. Wordlist from East Alabama (University of Texas). Indogermanische Forschungen 12:63ff.
- SCHULTZ. 1905. Globus 88:17.
- TAYLOR. 1870. Te Ika a Maui. 2nd edn. London. [Pages 340ff.].
- VON DER STEINEN. 1905. Globus 87:119.

NOTES

1 Revised version of a paper read at a meeting of the Linguistic Society of Australia, Perth, 10 February 1969. I am very grateful for the comments, and further examples, furnished on that occasion, especially by Professors J. Neustupný and Z. Oliverius, of Monash University.

2 The term 'ludling' was first introduced in a paper entitled 'Back and Fill: A cross-linguistic look at ludlings', read at the 38th Congress of the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science (ANZAAS), Hobart, 16-20 August, 1965. In this earlier paper, which is superseded by the present one, sociolinguistic issues were considered almost as much as the formal linguistic questions. These issues have been omitted from the present paper, as the ethnographic evidence on the actual use of ludlings is scanty. The principal points made are however repeated below, and may be allowed to stand until contradictory evidence is forthcoming:

a) Ludlings are not strictly 'secret' languages, since they are accessible to each member of the community; however, lack of familiarity with a particular type, or lack of practice, may make some forms unintelligible at normal speeds of utterance.

b) Ludlings are important group solidarity languages, serving to isolate other members of the community, who may understand what is being said, but who lack the practice in usage which would enable them to be accepted by the group.

c) The groups most prone to the use of ludlings, in all cultures, are not, as usually stated, 'children', but adolescents and pre-adolescents. These sublanguages come into force at a time when the community language is thoroughly mastered (so that experimentation is possible), and when a feeling of isolationism vis-a-vis the adult world is developing. Ludlings are very often associated with courtship behaviour.

d) Little feedback of ludling forms on the normal language has been observed, although there are sporadic examples recorded for English, French, and Buin. Ludlings are usually forgotten, perhaps actively repressed, by adults; the explanation of this is not yet clear to the author.

The term 'ludling' I have coined from Latin ludus 'game' and lingua 'language'. The first definition in print was in Laycock 1969.

3 In the Timugon-dialect of Lowland Murut (Sabah), [s:] is suffixed to words ending in /a i o u y w/ (example 10), to indicate the speech of foreigners (i.e., non-Timugon Murut), and also the 'hard' speech of villains in folk-tales.

4 See, for example, Chamberlain (1912), Flannery (1946), Haas (1944), and Orbis (1952).

5 Still systemically unclassified is a form of secret language which 'was either transforming Russian texts to Czech by keeping the Russian words but pronouncing them in Czech and adding Czech endings, or the other way round'

(JN personal communication). JN comments further: 'A text created in this way, although usually incomprehensible, gives partially some sense, but often different from that of the original. It was our standard way of amusement at our institute in Prague, and I suppose that it was used elsewhere'.

A further Czech cipher is mentioned by ZO; the letters of the original word are used as the initial letters of new words, so that *pozdravuj Adu* becomes *praha od zadu dá rovnou Aharp. Víc už jen ahoj. Den utíká*. It is uncertain whether this could be used as a spoken language form. Cf. also note ¹⁵.

6 What, for example, is the opposite of 'red'? Is it 'blue', 'green' (as on electric wiring), 'yellow', 'black', or 'colourless'?

For an example of an opposite language used as a secret language, see also Guilleminet (1960-62): 'po'ma to'blo'.

7 This does not seem to have been commented on by Gonda (1949-50) in his excellent study of reduplication in Indonesian languages - languages among, which, it should be stated, the occurrence of ludlings seems almost endemic (Skeat & Blagdon 1906:II:416 speak of 'the widespread and therefore certainly very ancient tendency of the Malayo-Polynesian races to specialise their language in particular cases of this kind'). It is somewhat strange, therefore, that no instances are found of ludlings involving only

reduplication (as the word is normally used; the example 64 could perhaps be considered an instance of a kind of reduplication).

- 8 Aufinger (1948) regards the Pidgin and Manam examples 114, 115 as having arisen only since the introduction of writing to the speakers of these languages. As the second example is only written, and the first involves apparently only orthographic reversal, he may be right in these instances but it would be surprising if Manam (an Austronesian language) had no indigenous ludlings, and the development of ludlings in Pidgin, unconnected with writing, would be no surprise.
- 9 A better term might be 'replacement', but the R is required for 'rearrangement'.
- 10 In some cases the normal language form given is not the exact form underlying the ludling form. Some such examples have been commented on in the notes, but the details are not clear in every case.
- 11 Often, however, phonological constraints of the normal language are violated by ludlings. Halle (1962) discussed briefly the regular English 'pig Latin' (example 172), and points out how its internal consonant clusters differ from those of General American.
- 12 Often the data does not show a difference between affix to word and affix to syllable; and the distinction becomes largely meaningless in predominantly monosyllabic languages.

- 13 For 10a), see note 3. In a similar manner, 10b) is used in 'imitation' (gently mocking) of the speech of a child, or of someone who is slightly stupid.
- 14 'The women delight in every practice that can deceive their lords, and they have invented a system of speaking to each other in what may be called an inverted language - in Malay, 'Bhasa Balik'. It is spoken in different ways: ordinary words have their syllables transposed, or to each syllable another one is added... they are constantly varying it, and girls often invent a new system, only confined to their intimate acquaintances; if they suspect they are understood by others, they instantly change it.' (St. John 1863:vol.2:289, describing life in the court of the Sultan of Brunei).
- 15 This is similar to a Czech cipher (written only?), supplied by ZO: arbitrary letters are added randomly to the original message, sometimes forming new words, so that *pozdravuj Adu* can become *0prokzfdirhahukulj Kaldou*. *Nad Prahou rozhledna. Vrány a žluvy tu u nás jen málokdy sou.* (The italicised letters are those of the original message). One wonders, however, how easily such a message would be deciphered by the recipient.
- 16 Chinese throughout includes both Mandarin and Cantonese, and other Chinese languages as well.

In all the examples cited from Chac 1931, there are complex sub-rules for the phonetic shape of the ludling form, depending on the structure of the original language form. These are omitted here, as they do not affect the typology.

The names in the right-hand column are those used to define the various ludling types described.

17 In cases of complete reduplication, with or without additional elements (such as 64), it is impossible to determine whether the process is one of suffixation or prefixation. The evidence of naturally-occurring reduplication, especially partial reduplication, would support prefixation, and the choice of suffixation for example 64 has been arbitrary.

The same problem is encountered with all instances of conditioned affixation, and again arbitrary decisions have been made. However, sometimes the question can be resolved by observing the behaviour of features such as stress, tone, or length; for instance, I have assumed in all examples from Germanic languages that the stress remains with the original vowel of the nucleus, so that the added element is the unstressed vowel. How far this is justified remains to be seen.

18 Of this 'rude mode of disguising English', Hotten comments: 'Evidently any consonant will answer the purpose, F or L would be softer and so far better'. Whence, perhaps, Alfalfa? (Example 86).

19 Essentially, reduplication of each syllable plus /tag sa/, with complex sub-rules. This is an orthographic subsystem, as it is based on the Hanunóo syllabary.

20 Queneau has made errors in this transcription - for example, *jovur* should be *jouvour*.

21 These phrases (meaning 'the blachan is burning, and the edges scorched' and 'lick my unwashed arse' respectively) are used in Javanese as 'catchphrases' in the ludling form. For further examples of this type of ludling, as well as further Javanese examples, see Scherzer (n.d.) and Sadtono (n.d.), in Addenda.

22 This system could perhaps be regarded as a type of arbitrary suffix to nucleus, since the original vowel is retained, or else in an orthographic system related to 90.

23 I have labelled the language as Hindustani, following the source; but it may be better considered as Urdu, since the Bazeegars are described as being Muslim. There is a phonetic basis to the substitution, but it is not consistent: /h l n r/ are all replaced by /k/, /b m f j s t/ by /n/, /g k q/ by /r/, /c/ by /n/ or /p/, and /θ/ by /k/ or /b/.

24 Any final consonant is replaced by /ŋ/; if there is no final consonant, /ŋ/ is suffixed. This latter

case is regarded here as being substitution of /ŋ/ for zero-final.

25 This example is included to illustrate the fact that this is not uncommon for ludling mechanisms to operate on the root-form only, with morphological elements being supplied later. Here the root is kain 'eat'; the reversed (ludling) form is enka; this reduplicates to eenka (corresponding to normal language kakain); with the addition of the progressive infix, we obtain the final form umeenka.

26 Several different systems appear to be operating here, but essentially it is either reversal or transposition by 'element - 'element' being variously defined as V, CV, CVC, depending on the original shape of the word. In polysyllabic words, the transposition apparently works on half the word only; thus, 'Hindoostan' is split as 'hindoos-' and '-tan', and then each half is reversed or transposed.

27 The popularity, and universality, of spoonerisms in a wide variety of languages probably arises from the fact that they occur naturally, as a common error in speech-performance. Perhaps the occurrence of spoonerisms - on the widest definition, as transposition of initials or finals - will be found to be a linguistic universal.

Note also the application of spoonerisms to the well-known Chinese fan-ch'ieh, whereby the pronunciation of

a new word (in character spelling) may be indicated by taking the initial of one word and the final of another.

28 The normal language form and the transposed form are to be understood as the answer to the question Was ist der Unterschied zwischen einem Kranker und einem Morder? Such riddling questions seem to be a feature of spoonerisms in English, French, and German, and probably other European languages as well. It is common, as Legman (1968) points out, for only one half of the spoonerism pair to be given, as in the following additional example of German Schüttelreime: Was ist der Unterschied zwischen einem Wald und einer Tante? Ein Wald hat nickende Fichten.

29 The Pu-I rules for transposition in the case of odd-syllabled utterances are simple: one element (1st, 3rd, 5th, etc.) remains unchanged, and the remaining syllables are transposed in pairs. Note too, that in Pu-I the tone usually remains with the initial; but one example (140) is provided of tone following the final.

30 This type is also regarded in English as a kind of spoonerism, and also occurs accidentally, as an error, in ordinary speech. Recently, my wife, startled by a cork popping said: 'Oh! The cock porped!'.

- 31 Most of the examples given by Evans involve symmetric transposition of syllables (example 122); even in three-syllabled words, the system remains symmetrical, in that one syllable remains constant. Only in this one example is a non-symmetric transposition apparent.
- 32 Jespersen (1916-17) explains this form of 'Ziph' or 'Hypernese' as replacing the first consonant in an initial CC cluster with wa and inserting p or g (Cf. 73); but he gives no further examples involving consonant substitution, although he regards his other example 48 as being of the same type.
- 33 The rules for the formation of Pig-Latin words seem to differ amongst British, Australian and American speakers, in the case of base-words with vowel initial. I would say 'eat-ay', 'over-ay', whereas some American friends would say 'eat-way', 'over-way', for eat and over (Cf. Scherzer n.d.).
- 34 The Vietnamese examples discussed in detail by Chéon (1905) are very complex, but essentially involve replacement of initial and final consonants by other consonants at the same point of articulation suffixing an arbitrary element which may (187) or may not (186) commence with the original initial consonant, modifying the final consonant of the suffix according to whether a final stop was present in the original word, and making tone adjustments. The ludling forms are also constructed on 'slang' forms of the original

language, involving lexical substitution, so that the interpretation of a particular ludling form can be difficult.

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